

House of Commons Debates

FOURTH SESSION, FIFTH PARLIAMENT.--49 VIC.

SPEECH OF MR. CAMERON, M.P.,

ON

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION IN THE NORTH-WEST.

OTTAWA, APRIL 15TH, 1886,

Mr. CAMERON (Huron). I regret very much that the First Minister is not in his place to night. I regret the occasion of his absence and I regret the fact of his absence, because I propose for a short time to discuss the administration of the Department over which the First Minister presides, and I always prefer discussing a question of that kind in the presence of the head of the Department. The First Minister, in his report for the year 1885, recently submitted to Parliament, states:

"That the Indians who revolted had no reason for so doing, in so far as their treatment was concerned, is sufficiently established by the concurrent testimony of all those connected with the management of the Indians in the North-West Territories.

I say that no statement could be further from the fact, and no allegation could be more at variance with the reports of the Department of Indian Affairs. But, even if that statement were true, it would not in any sense relieve the Department from the responsibility for the uneasy, dissatisfied and discontented state of the Indians, and for their ultimate outbreak in open revolt against the sovereign power of this Dominion. The officials of the Department are by no means reliable witnesses. Those who offended against the Indian; those who sinned against the Indian; those who robbed and cheated and swindled the Indian, as I shall establish before I sit down, and those who permitted the Indian of the North West Territories to be frozen to death and starved to death, are not very reliable witnesses, are very unlikely to disclose their own misconduct and to admit their own criminality. The hon. gentleman ought to have fortified the statement he made in the report of his Department as to the conduct of the officials of that Department and the administration of Indian affairs by other and more reliable testimony than that of the officials incriminated. I shall, in discussing this question, pursue a different course. I shall establish the charges that I propose to make against this Government and the officials appointed by this Government by the reports of the honest, the few honest men that are connected with that service in the North-West, and by a mass of independent testimony that in my judgment is simply startling. The reports of the Department for the last four or five years are eloquent with statements of wrongs done to the Indian, of promises broken, of violated treaties made with the Indian, of gross injustice done to the Indian, of shameful official misconduct on the part of those appointed to administer Indian affairs in the North-West, of lying, cheating, and robbing the Indian; and I propose to establish these propositions in their order by extracts from the reports of the Department and by the testimony of individuals thoroughly conversant with the situation of

affairs in the North-West Territories. Let me then, first, deal with the kind of officials which this Government placed over the untamed, uneducated, uncivilised, unchristianised wards of the nation with whom this country was bound to deal honestly and fairly, because Canada induced the Indians of the North-West to surrender their possessory rights to what is practically an empire for the merest pittance. Writers upon the Indian question, and especially such writers as the authoress of "One hundred years of dishonor," speak of the Indians as easily managed, peaceable, quiet, inoffensive, docile, so long as he is fairly and honestly treated; but as faithless, turbulent, and rebellious when he is injured, when he is deceived, when he is wronged, when he is defrauded. In order to retain the confidence of the Indian, in order to educate, to elevate, to civilise and to christianise the Indians, it was of the first consequence that men of character, men of honesty, men of truthfulness, men of high moral standing, should have been selected to preside over and administer Indian affairs in the North-West Territories. I regret to say that, in so far as I have been able to gather the facts, such men have not been selected. Some of the men selected by the Government of this Dominion from the swarm of camp followers that usually surround this Administration, were men who were utterly unfit for the positions they were called upon to fill. Men who were unfit for positions in the public service in the older Provinces of the Dominion, were shipped off to Manitoba and the North-West Territories, and given charge over the Indians there, men who have proved themselves to be utterly unfit for their positions, who have proved themselves to be dishonest, careless, immoral. I say, Sir, that the conduct of the officials of the North-West Territories, more than anything else, created dissatisfaction and discontent among the Indians; I say that the misconduct and the mismanagement of the Administration in connection with the Indian affairs in the North-West Territories, as much as anything else, produced uneasiness, dissatisfaction and discontent among the Indians, which ultimately broke out into open rebellion. I charge, Mr. Speaker, that many of the officials appointed by this Administration, from Commissioner Dewdney down to the lowest official in the service of this Government in the North-West Territories, are wholly unfit to discharge the important duties that devolve upon them, and that these men ought to have been dismissed from their positions by this Government many, many years ago. The Indians, Sir, have no faith in Commissioner Dewdney, they have faith in but few of the officials in the North-West Territories, but none in Commissioner Dewdney, they know him too well, they have been deceived by him too often. He has been charged, and correctly charged, with being dom-

ineering, arrogant, tyrannical, unfair, untruthful in his dealings with the Indians. With such a commissioner, and with a similar class of officials, we could expect nothing else than uneasiness, dissatisfaction, discontent, and ultimately rebellion in the North-West Territories. The charges I have made against the Administration and the officials of the Administration in the North-West Territories, I propose to establish out of the blue books submitted to Parliament and by the testimony of independent men, and of journals supporting this Administration. The *Winnipeg Times*, an organ of hon. gentlemen opposite, a Conservative paper, published in the city of Winnipeg, thus describes Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney:

"But the dross of gold is not Mr. Dewdney's god. He is eminently a philanthropist. His delight is to advance the interests of the savage and promote the welfare of the more wretched white man under his sceptre. For example, when Long Lodge, chief of the Assiniboines, who were camping last summer near Indian Head, complained that the contractor's bacon, costing the Canadian taxpayers nineteen cents per pound, was not suitable to the Indian palate, the Indians feeding always on buffalo meat; when Long Lodge offered to accept half a pound of steer beef, costing a York shilling a pound dead weight, in place of a pound of bacon costing nineteen cents; when Long Lodge said the bacon was 'hurting his people because it was not their food,' Mr. Dewdney said 'the Indians should eat the bacon or die, and be damned to them.' This was not said in haste, but at his honor's leisure. He did not say it because his friend the contractor, who happened to be in a land syndicate with him, had 90,000 pounds of that bacon to dispose of, but because he wished to indoctrinate the savage with the tastes of the average white man. Mr. Dewdney, let Piapot witness, is the Indians' friend. To the white man also he sets a noble example. He teaches the raw settler a new code of morals. He shows him by precept and example that in these degenerated days it is not necessary for a man holding a trust not to abuse it. He illustrates in his own walk and life the modern principles that every man should fight for his own wallet. He is, in this great country, the most signal exemplar of the science of how to get along regardless of the means or methods of locomotion. Mr. Dewdney, therefore, deserves well at our hands and at the hands of the Indians of these Territories. It would hardly be appropriate to present him with a homestead, for he has several, also preemptions in abundance. Money would also be out of place, inasmuch as while Sir Leonard has a surplus and Sir John remains in power, he will not want. Could anything be more appropriate than to present him with a petition to leave, to get out, to go elsewhere and teach other Indians and other white men the ethics of grab, greed and shamelessness which he has introduced here?"

That extract, Sir, is from a paper published in the interests of the Government, and was published three years ago, and up to this hour this Indian Commissioner, so described by an organ of the Government, still retains his place as Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the North-West Territories. The *Ottawa Sun*, another paper not unfriendly to this Administration, speaking of the officials in the North-West, says:

"The country has been cursed with an unscrupulous and tyrannical officialdom, and to this cause may be traced the origin of the present trouble. Officials were selected purely from political reasons, without regard to fitness, or, in many cases, character. And the last thing to be considered has been the wishes or interests of the settlers, who have no representative in Parliament, and no recourse against the tyranny of these officials. Almost every official made it his business to get rich by speculating in the lands which the interests of the country required should be administered in the interest of the actual settler. Land agents have been in partnership with claim-jumpers, and used their advantages to rob honest settlers by treacherous technicalities for the benefit of the land sharks. Junius tells us something about public men who suddenly became rich, which may be properly applied to Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney. That gentleman, when he came to Ottawa in 1872, was practically a pauper. To-day he is a wealthy man. He did not save his wealth out of his salary. When he personally drove off the settlers from the county of Kent, who had gone in under very great difficulties and at great expense at a trying season of the year, built houses, and started to break land for cultivation—when he insulted men, who went in mistaken confidence to him for protection against the outrage perpetrated by Major Bell—he was at the time, it is alleged, in receipt of a present of \$10,000 in the stock of the Bell Farming Company."

Now, you must bear in mind, Mr. Speaker, that this Commissioner Dewdney, so described by two organs of the Government, is the official who has charge of the Indians in the North-West Territory, and has had charge of them for a series of years. The attention of the Government has been drawn to the conduct of this man, to the actions of this man, yet up to this hour the first step has not been taken to remedy the wrong that is alleged to have been perpetrated by him. The Farmers' Union, a body of respect-

able men in the North-West, thus speaks of the character of the officials this Administration sent to the North-West to administer Indian affairs in that region:

"We point with a sorrowful pride to the fact that whilst we are trying to secure consideration and justice our sons and brothers have left their farms to grow to weeds while they are away in the North-West Territory, risking and laying down their lives like loyal sons of Canada to defend the supremacy of the flag of our forefathers from the contaminating touch of half-breeds and savages driven to despair by misgovernment, and by the acts of incompetent and dishonest Government officials."

Mr. Jackson, a member of the North-West Council, a lifelong Conservative, a man who boasts that he has been an unswerving and faithful supporter of the First Minister of this Dominion for a period of twenty-five years, in a speech delivered by him at Qu'Appelle in January last, thus speaks of Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney and the officials of the North-West Territory:

"Everything is quiet, there is no danger. I say that if the Indian agents were not in a position then to tell what was the state of the Indian mind at that time, then they were unfit for the position they held; and a stronger argument that the chief of the Department was not fitted for his post I do not want than that he allowed his Indian agents to persuade him that everything was peaceable and quiet, while the whole thing was a seething volcano, ready to burst forth at any moment, and Mr. Dewdney was the only innocent man in the country. That shows that things in the Indian Department are rotten to the core, and should be weeded out. (Hear, hear.) Had he exercised his proper functions, and done what was expected of him, the Government would have been induced, because of the gravity of the situation, to deal with the matter, and thus have averted this great rebellion. He failed to do that; and if the Government care anything at all for the feelings of the people of this country, they will sweep away that which is rotten and despicable, and place an honest man, who will fulfil his duties, in the position of Lieutenant-Governor. (Cheers.) I have shown you that he had neglected his duties, and prostituted his position as Indian Commissioner; that he has allowed people to starve to death. I can show you that he said at Qu'Appelle Station that the Indians of the north might give trouble, but that he felt sure the Indians of Treaty No. 4 would give no trouble to the Government. If that is the fact, and if he allowed men, women and children to go to their death without a warning, that man was accessory before the fact. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, these are all facts. At the Session of Parliament, I think 1881-83, or 1883-84, when Sir John Macdonald, whom I have followed for twenty-five years, and who has always found me an active supporter, got up in his place as Premier of the Dominion, and said that Mr. Dewdney was one of the best appointments he ever made, I confess it completely knocked the wind out of me. (Laughter.)"

I do not wonder that it knocked the wind out of this member of the North-West Council. The extracts I have read from the organs of the Government, and the revelations I shall make before I resume my seat, together with the statement made by the First Minister with respect to Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney, will prove enough to knock the wind out of anyone. The *Mail* newspaper of 2nd February, 1886, reports an interview which the correspondent of that paper had with a person by the name of Mr. James Grier, who lives in the neighborhood of Old Man's River, and was a former resident of the county of Grey and had been reeve of the township in which he resided for 15 years. Mr. James Grier says, on this subject:

"Another great grievance in the North-West is the importation of carpet-baggers to fill official positions. This is not, however, so seriously felt now as it has been. But on all sides but one opinion is expressed—that the North-West now has men capable of filling the offices, and that they should be chosen, all other things being equal, for the vacancies that occur."

Let me now give the opinion of clergymen:

"At the Presbytery meeting at Brandon, Manitoba, Rev. Mr. Cameron, who spent many years among the Indians about Battleford, contended that 'Indian uprising was in a great measure due to the character of the instructors and agents appointed by the Government. If the Government officials had been the right kind of men the uprising would never have taken place. In many cases their treatment of the Indians was calculated to have a most injurious effect—some of them treating the Indians like dogs—never speaking to them without an oath, and paying no regard whatever to their word.' The rev. gentleman remarked that it would spoil good Indians to make them like some of the Indian Department officials who are over them, and supposed to be civilising them. Mr. Cameron's statements were confirmed by Rev. Messrs. Robertson, Flett, and other Indian missionaries, who maintained that the Indian revolt was in a great measure due to the character of the Government officials sent amongst them."

I say that is an extraordinary condition of affairs. Those people are on the spot and know whereof they speak, and so knowing whereof they speak, they so described the officials sent by this Government to administer Indian affairs in the North-West. Mr. McDougall, one of the Methodist missionaries, who has devoted his life to the service of elevating, educating, civilising and christianising the Indians, thus speaks of the officials:

"Mr. McDougall points out the great difficulty of governing from Ottawa, and says that 'laws were enacted which could not be enforced; furthermore simply unfit men were appointed to office without any knowledge of the nature of the work expected of them, the Indians and the country, and Government having to run the risk in the meanwhile of being experimented upon.'"

Hon. Lawrence Clarke, at one time a member of the North-West Council thus speaks of the class of men who were sent by this Government to administer Indian affairs:

"Brutal ruffians were appointed as farm instructors over the Indians, who maltreated the poor people in the most brutal manner, answering them with kicks and blows, accompanied with showers of profanity and disgusting epithets; of the farm instructors killed by the Indians two were universally known to be brutal wretches such as I have mentioned, and the priests lost their lives in attempting to save them from the pent-up wrath of the savages."

Mr. MITCHELL. Whose report is that?

Mr. CAMERON (Huron). That of the Hon. Lawrence Clarke, formerly a member of the North-West Council. He proceeds:

"Let a commissioner be appointed or a Committee of Parliament, and I pledge myself to show to the people of this Dominion such a picture of the facts as will make them wonder how it is that rebellion did not break out years ago. Had not the Indians been restrained by the priests and ministers, the farm instructors and other paid politicians appointed over them, would have been killed long ago."

Archbishop Taché, in his manifesto, speaking of the Indian troubles, says:

"There were some well qualified men, but important posts were assigned to men totally unqualified for the position, while other persons perfectly apt have been dismissed or left aside, because ten, fifteen, or twenty years before they were political opponents."

Mr. Jackson, in his speech at Qu'Appelle, from which I have just quoted, said:

"A white man never believes in him. The Indian thinks of him as a man who does not tell the truth to-day, but might to-morrow; but that to-morrow never comes. (Laughter.)"

The *Winnipeg Times*, speaking of Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney, said:

"For the first time in the history of the British nation the representative of the Queen is known to the savage as a liar."

Such are the opinions of the friends of hon. gentlemen opposite; such are the opinions of the press supporting hon. gentlemen opposite, as to the character of the officials appointed by this Government to administer Indian affairs in the North-West, from Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney down to the farm instructors appointed by this Administration. I say it is a marvel to me, not that the Indians took up arms against the sovereign power of this country, but the marvel to me is that long years ago the Indians did not protest in the only way known to them against the misconduct, maladministration, incapacity and culpable neglect of this Administration. I go still further. I say the Government and the officials appointed by this Government have not only broken faith with the Indians, but many of the officials in the North-West Territories have debased and degraded the Indian character, until now, Sir, there is nothing left but the bare memory of what was once the noble red man of the plains. An organ of the Government, three years ago, called public attention to the fact that one of the agents of this Administration was living on a reserve, beneath the shadow of the Methodist mission, in open adultery with two young squaws. The Government were aware of it, but the Government never moved, never enquired, never investigated, and up to this hour, this unworthy representative of Ottawa officialdom adminis-

ters Indian affairs in that particular locality. A young Englishman, unfit to do anything in his native country, was shipped off to Canada, consigned to the care of the First Minister of this Dominion. He was provided for in the Indian service of the North-West Territories, and he has been living there for three or four years revelling in the sensual enjoyments of a western harem, plentifully supplied with select cullings from the western prairie flowers. We send missionaries of the Cross to the North-West to educate and elevate, to civilise and christianise the Indians. We send missionaries, official missionaries, to the North-West Territories to humiliate, to lower, to degrade and debase the virgin daughters of the wards of the nation, and yet we find people expressing their surprise and astonishment that the Indians do not take kindly to the ways of modern civilisation, and that after the munificent donations which Parliament votes every year to feed, clothe and keep in comfort the wild Indians of the plains, they are still dissatisfied, still discontented, still rebellious. I say again that to my mind the marvel is that years ago the Indians did not use the tomahawk and scalping knife and clean out of the North-West Territories the lazy, indolent, incompetent and immoral class of officials who have been appointed by this Administration to administer Indian affairs in the North-West Territories. The statements I make may be considered somewhat extravagant, but I shall prove every one of them before I resume my seat by official documents submitted by this Government to this Parliament, and a mass of independent testimony that, to my mind, is simply overwhelming. If you refer to one of the reports of one of the Departments brought down last year, you will find that 45 per. cent of one class of officials in the North-West were under medical treatment for a peculiar kind of disease in one year. That you will admit, is an extraordinary showing for a class of men paid by the people of this country to control, manage and set an example to the Indians of the North-West Territories. Sir, that report speaks in unmistakable terms of the condition of those guardians of public peace and public morals. At one station it points out that there were fifty-eight cases in one year; at another station there were forty-seven cases under medical treatment in ten months; at a third station there were in eleven months seventy-four cases under medical treatment; at a fourth station in 1884 there were sixty cases under medical treatment. In a division of the force in eleven months there were twenty-one cases, and the aggregate shows that there were at least 45 per cent. of this class of officials in the North-West Territories who were suffering from this class of disease. The *Mail* newspaper, to which I suppose hon. gentlemen will not object as a witness in this part of the discussion—the *Mail* newspaper of the 30th of January, 1886, publishes an interview with one of the missionaries employed by one of the leading churches of the Dominion, to civilise and christianise the Indians. That missionary said:

"But what we want in our reserves are married men as employees, and a few hundred dollars expended in putting up houses for them would pay in the end. And, let me say, get Christian men: thank God there are such to be found; and don't employ a man because some influential man down east wants to get a situation for him. Again, put a stop to white men living with Indian women unless they are lawfully married to them. Where are the young girls of 13 to 16 that have been partly taught in our schools; and others before them? Sold to white men for from \$10 to \$30! Where are their children? Running about the reserves wearing rags! Where are the women themselves? They are prostitutes hanging around the towns. Stop the sale of Indian girls to white men and another great step is taken."

Now, Sir, I say that every calm, thoughtful, thinking man will conclude that this is an extraordinary condition of affairs. This missionary tells us that the very children from the mission schools are absorbed into this population for the vilest and most unholy purposes. Mr. McDougall, who is the missionary to whom I have alluded, in the same inter-

view when asked to explain the true condition of affairs, said:

"He urges a change, and the Indians given a fair chance; he wants the Government's Indian policy—to make the Indian a responsible citizen—carried out in its true spirit. To do this he asks for employees of the Indian Department who will be true to their country if not to their God, who will refrain from licentiousness, blasphemy, drunkenness, and laziness, who will have force of character enough to command general respect, and who will by precept and example teach the Indians industry, thrift and obedience to the law."

The *Mail* newspaper of the 2nd of February, 1886, publishes an interview with Mr. James Grier, to whom I have already alluded, in which the following occurs:—

"Then the conversation drifted back to the Indians, and I asked him if he knew of any frauds that had been committed on them. He answered: 'I know any amount of corruption exists in the Indian Department, and I know that many of the officials have one squaw or two. This is a matter of public notoriety.'"

I ask you, after having heard this evidence, whether I am not amply justified in the charge I have made against this Government, that they appointed to positions of public trust in the North-West Territories, from among their army of carpet-baggers and camp followers, some of the most unfit men that ever occupied public positions. I say this condition of affairs is well known to the Government, and has been well known to the Government for a number of years. I say that it is a scandalous condition of affairs to exist in any country, and a disgrace to the Government that would tolerate it for one hour. I say that they have not only been guilty of sending this class of people to the North-West Territories, but they have been guilty of breaking faith with the Indians. The solemn covenants entered into with the Indians have been shamefully, openly, persistently and systematically broken by this Government. The confidence which the Indian usually has in the Sovereign of this Dominion, has been shaken. He can no longer rely on the faith of the Crown, and the result has been a rebellion in the North-West Territories, in which the Indians took no unimportant part, and the result is that to-day I solemnly believe, from the testimony that comes from the North-West, that this Dominion is standing on the brink of a volcano, which may burst forth at any moment. The evidence upon this point of broken faith, violated treaties, unfulfilled obligations is so clear that it is almost unnecessary to discuss it. But in order that the matter may be put beyond peradventure, I propose to establish it out of the blue-books submitted to this Parliament during the last four or five years; I propose to prove it by the testimony of the organs and friends of hon. gentlemen opposite. The *Mail* newspaper of the 13th January, 1886, publishes another interview with the Rev. Mr. McDougall, the missionary from the Methodist Church to the Stoney Indians near Calgary. In that interview Mr. McDougall says:

"The 'Government is false to the treaty, the white men have lied to us, we are deceived,' the Indians said, and it required the services of loyal old-timers to point out to them why, through unavoidable delays, lack of speedy transport, &c., the obligations of the Government were sometimes unfulfilled. But Mr. McDougall says: 'We could not find, nor did we try to find, any excuse for the promises made but not fulfilled, for the cut-throat policy often exhibited and sometimes enforced by officials of the Indian Department, for the shameful and immoral lives of many of the employees of the same. Some of these were a disgrace to the lowest barbarism, let alone civilisation. Nor how could we, when earnestly trying to teach Indians habits of industry and thrift, be expected to excuse the laziness and incompetency of many sent into the country to teach the wards of the Government those lessons we have been working for them to acquire for so many years. Moreover, could we be blamed when we felt strongly that something was wrong in the system which allowed such men in its branch of the service. The inconsistency has oftentimes appeared to us very glaring when we looked at a department claiming to have a certain object in view, set aside by the country at large, whose servant it is, to attain this object, and yet within its own grasp and power doing those things and adopting those methods which are defeating their object.'"

The Rev. Father Scollen, a missionary priest for twenty-four years among the Indians of the North-West Territories, and now, or at all events recently, in the service of

this Administration, speaks as "follows of the treatment of the Indians by the Government:—

"That the half-breed rising had not necessarily been the cause of the Indian rising, from the fact that the Indians had been prepared to rise long before the half-breeds had made any movement at all. They had been prepared to take the first opportunity, no matter what it was. If any other parties had got into trouble with the Government or caused the Government trouble, the Indians would have taken advantage of that just as they did the half-breed rising. They had known, and they know to-day that they could not fight the white man, hence they had been watching an opportunity. One cause for dissatisfaction among the Indians had been the fact that the treaties had not been carried out on the part of the Government agents."

Such is the testimony of two men whose evidence cannot be controverted in this Parliament or elsewhere. I go further. I say that the reports of the Department establish still more clearly that broken promises and violated treaties have characterised the dealings of the Government with the Indians for a long number of years. A. McKay, an Indian agent at Grand Rapids, in his report states that the inspector of Indian agencies promised to supply them with all they might require, and that they were urged by that gentleman to make their demands on the Department for the same, which they did, but they were not complied with. Mr. McColl, inspector of Indian agencies in the North-West, writing of the Swan Lake bands, says that waggons were promised them, and that he is apprehensive of serious consequences unless their claims are recognised. Mr. McDonald, an Indian agent under Treaty No. 4, publishes a letter from Poundmaker, in which Poundmaker uses the following language:—

"It is Poundmaker who takes the liberty of sending you a few lines. We entreat Your Honor to send him the grist mill with horse-power you kindly presented him at Cypress. We expected it last summer, but in vain."

These had been promised to the Indian chief by Commissioner Dewdney, twelve months before this complaint was made; but up to that hour the pledges of the Crown, made by Commissioner Dewdney, had not been fulfilled. Poundmaker says further:

"Let me have the 22 oxen you promised for my band."

J. McRae, an Indian agent at Carleton, speaking of the Okenasis band—and Mr. Tompkins corroborates the statement—says that Inspector Wadsworth promised him a large lumber waggon last fall, but he did not get it. G. McPherson, Indian agent, says:

"The clothing for the chiefs and councillors was good, except the trousers and shirts, which were inferior and worn out in three or four days."

Now, I ask you, Mr. Speaker, is not that an extraordinary condition of affairs? If you refer to the accounts of the contractors for supplies to the Indians, you will find that they were bound to supply articles of a reasonably fair quality. Instead of so doing they supplied the Indian chiefs and the Indian councillors with an article that lasted them but three days; and yet we are surprised that the Indians are dissatisfied and discontented, and that they have broken out into revolt, as they may break out into revolt again. J. W. Herchmer, Indian agent, speaking of the Salteaux band under South Quill, says:

"Hunting having failed in their neighborhood, the band have been obliged to sell most of their horses to buy supplies, and are now miserably poor."

Miserably poor! With the munificent donation voted by Parliament, and expended last year, of some \$1,109,000. Miserably poor! And why? Because this Government negligently and carelessly permit their contractors to supply these Indians with an article of wearing apparel that lasts the Indians only three days. A. McKay, Indian agent, says of the Indians on Che-ma-wha win reserve:

"The harrows and ploughs were lying partly buried in mud and weeds in different places. Some of them have never been used or put together yet, and are spoiling for want of care."

We have an army of officials in the North-West; we have Indian agents, sub-Indian agents, farm instructors, all kinds and classes of men there to look after the interests of the Indians; and yet we find that so little attention was paid to those supplies that they were dumped off in the mud and filth and left there to rot. And we are surprised and astounded that the Indian is not satisfied with the attention he receives. Mr. McColl, the Inspector of Agencies, says:

"I also notice in the same records that nearly all the bands within this agency have received more axes than they were entitled to under the treaty, and that only two or three bands have received their complement of hoes, spades and scythes, notwithstanding the representation made to the contrary to the Department as well as to the Indians in reference to this matter."

Notwithstanding the representations made to the contrary, to the Department as well as to the Indians, in reference to this matter. In other words, our agents in the North-West, in charge of the Indian Department, were so indolent, so lazy, so indifferent and so careless, that they delivered to some bands of Indians far more of one class of tools and implements than were required, while to other bands they gave none at all. The same inspector further reports:

"The potatoes and barley received last spring were half rotten."

Now, I ask the Acting Minister of Indian Affairs if his attention was ever drawn to that report? Is that the kind of treatment we ought to mete out to the wards of the nation, to the men with whom, above all others, we are in honor bound to deal fairly and honestly? We pay for these things, and we supply them, but when they reach the Indians they are wholly unfit for use. The same inspector again says:

"That the councillor complains that the quality of the hats, trousers and shoes received by him were inferior."

He further reports that John Harcus, one of the councillors of the Cumberland band, complains that the agricultural implements forwarded by the Department for their use, were refused to them. We were under obligations, we were in honor bound to give the Indians these things; they were bought and paid for, yet when they reached their destination, some wise agent of the Administration would not hand them over to the Indians. Was any enquiry made into this? In so far as I am able to gather from the reports, none was made. C. E. Denny, another Indian agent, speaking of the breach of contract by the contractor, says:

"I sent a messenger to Fort Benton, to I. G. Baker & Co., informing them that flour was needed, and to ship at once. I had, on two occasions, to purchase cattle from others than the contractors, as they failed to keep me supplied, and beef would have run out on the Blackfeet and other reserves had I not done so. I had to pay half prices, and notified the contractors before taking this step."

There you see how a portion of the fund which Parliament voted was expended. The contractors either did not supply the articles at all, or supplied it of an inferior quality; yet, no investigation was made, no enquiry made, and nothing was done. Mr. Herchmer, speaking of the Sioux bands, says:

"A great deal of sickness has visited them lately caused by the want of fresh meat."

W. Pocklington, speaking of Stoney Indians, says:

"During last winter there was a great deal of distress among them for want of clothing, many of them not having a blanket to cover their nakedness."

T. P. Wadsworth, speaking of the Day Star band, says that:

"They complained that they did not get their treaty pigs, and they asked for more oxen, tool chests, moccasins and milk pans."

He reports as to Mistowasis band:

"They complained that they did not get treaty pigs, and Wadsworth recommends that Mistowasis and Ahtahka'toops get them."

Mr. Wadsworth says of the Bobtail band:

"They complain that still due them, under treaty, a cow and bull."

And further:

"The Ermine Skin's band complain of want of a mower and some carts."

These are not the only complaints that the Indians have been making for a number of years. We promised, and were under obligations to supply the Indians, just fresh from the plains, from which the buffalo had disappeared, with fresh beef. But instead of fresh beef, we supplied them with salt pork, though we could get fresh beef at from 8 to 15 cents per lb., and had to pay for the pork, some of which was rusted at that, from 20 to 25 cents per lb. The table I submit, culled from the vouchers in the Indian Department, shows the following rates:—

"At Fort Macleod, in 1892-3, beef was worth per lb. 8½ cents and bacon 20 cents; in 1893-4, beef was worth per lb. 14½ cents and bacon 23½ cents; in 1894-5 beef 15 cents and bacon 18 cent per lb. In the Saskatchewan District, in 1892-3, beef was worth 15 cents and bacon 25 cents; in 1893-4, beef 20 cents, and bacon 22½ cents per lb. At Battleford, in 1892-3, beef was worth 12½ cents per lb., and bacon 23 cents; and 1893-4, beef 17 cents, and bacon 20 cents. In Calgary, in 1892-3, beef was worth 8½, and bacon 21½ cents; and in 1893-4, beef 14½, and bacon 24½ cents per lb."

And this, although the Department was made aware of the fact, by its agent Mr. Herchmer in his report for 1893. Mr. Herchmer there says:

"A great deal of sickness has visited them lately caused by the want of fresh meat." The Indians, under treaty 4, received in 1885-6, \$15,290.92 worth of pork, and \$1,288.45 worth of beef, although it is known that beef is life to the Indian, while salt pork is disease and death to him."

This bountiful, humane and attentive Government, whose duty it was to look after the interest of the Indians, supplied them with twelve pounds of disease and death to one pound of life. And this, although the reports of the Department are literally teeming with warnings to and remonstrances against the Government for the inhuman treatment the Indians received at their hands, by supplying them with pork instead of with fresh meat. Agent Herchmer, in his report dated the 24th July, 1895, speaking of the types of disease among the Indians says:

"To these might be added I think the sudden change from fresh meat on the Prairies to flour and bacon in comparative confinement."

And again at page 61 he says:

"At Oak River, eleven men have died out of 88 heads of families, and seventeen children under three years old. This is very distressing and is hard to account for—the change of diet, owing to the failure of hunting and scrofula, being probably the cause."

It is very distressing, the agent pathetically says, while all the time these very agents were doing what they knew they ought not to have done; namely, supplying these men with salt pork at 20 to 25 cents per pound when they could have got fresh beef at from 8½ to 15 cents per pound. Mr. Magnus Begg, Indian agent, in his report dated 28th July, 1885, says:

"During the month of April there was considerable sickness on the Stoney reserve and it was thought favorable to issue beef, which was done and with satisfactory results."

In other words, we fed the Indians on salt pork until they became sick unto death, and then we fed them on fresh beef to restore them to health again. Has the Government of this country, has the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the North-West Territory not considered that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure, that it would be better to feed the Indian on fresh beef to prevent disease rather than to feed him on fresh beef to effect a cure, especially as fresh beef can be purchased at a much lower figure in the market than salt pork. The reports, with few exceptions, of the agents of the Department for the last four or five years show that there have been constant complaints made to the head of this Department of the inhuman treatment received by the Indians at the hands of the officials of this Government. Those complaints have been renewed from year to year; those complaints have not been investigated. I

charge that this Government, although these complaints have been made by their own agents, have not investigated them, and, where the truth of the charges was brought home to the agents of the Department, these agents have not been dismissed as they should have been. Mr. Wadsworth, the Superintendent of Indian affairs, in his report for 1832, speaking of the Rivière qui Barre Indians, says:

"The flour and bacon received as supplies was bad, and the flour received by the Indians at Battleford, had become lumpy."

Mr. Wadsworth, in his report for 1883, speaking of the Indians in the Sekaskoots reserve, says:

"I could get no account of the supplies sent in by the contractors or the Government."

He further says:

"The flour received by those Indians only averaged 93 pounds per sack."

And again, speaking of Poundmaker's band, he says:

"The flour was inferior and of light weight."

A. McKay, Indian agent, in his report for 1884, says that the Inspector of Indian agencies promised to supply them with all they might require, and that they were urged by that agent to make their demands on the Department for the same; that they did do so, but the supplies were not sent. E. McColl, in his report for 1882, says:

"Waggons were promised these Indians, and that he was apprehensive of serious consequences, unless their claims were recognised."

Mr. T. P. Wadsworth, in his report for 1883, speaking of Day Star's band says:

"The chief complained that he could not get his treaty pigs, and that he wanted more oxen, a tool chest and milk pans."

Also that:

"Mistowasis' band and Ah-tah-ka-koop's band did not get their treaty pigs, and he recommends that they get them."

He further reports that:

"Bobtail's band complained that there was still due them under the treaty a cow and a bull."

He further reports that:

"Ermine Skin's band complained that there was due them under the treaty a mower and some carts."

Francis Ogiltree, Indian agent, in his report dated 14th October, 1884, says, in speaking of the Sandy Bay band:

"They are very anxious to get the cattle they are entitled to as well as some of the tools."

John McIntyre, Indian agent, in his report dated 6th October, 1884, says in reference to the Lac des Mille Lacs band:

"This band is still entitled to three cows."

And of the Wobegan and Eagle Lake bands:

"I took an inventory of all their tools and implements and find they are short of a good many for which I have made requisition."

And of the Mattawa and English Rivers band:

"This band asks for one plough and one harrow, twenty grubbers, one morticing pick, one single yoke, and two cows still are due them."

And of the Fish River reserve:

"They again ask for a steel grist mill. They also request to be supplied with two brush breaking ploughs, two iron harrows, and four sets of strong chain traces as those previously furnished were worthless."

I have shown not only that we have sent bad agents to administer Indian affairs in the North-West Territories, but that we have broken faith with the Indians in many respects. I now propose to prove that we have by our negligence and misconduct allowed the Indians, in the midst of plenty, to be frozen to death and starved to death. I have shown that we have allowed them to be robbed, swindled and cheated out of what they were entitled to, by the agents and the middlemen, that we gave them little or no clothing, and, to cap the climax of our criminality, we have allowed them to be frozen and starved to death. Let us see how far this is proved by the records submitted to Parliament:—Mr. McDonald,

Indian agent, under Treaty No. 4, published a letter from Poundmaker, dated 10th November, 1882, in which the old chief says:

"There is to-day a great distress in my band. Their rations are suspended now for 41 days and, of course, everybody is busy roving about and hunting. It is impossible to work on an empty stomach."

C. E. Denny, Indian agent, in his report for 1882, says:

"I found the Blackfeet willing to work had they received assistance, but they had been badly neglected and, in consequence, were wild and unsettled."

Commissioner McLeod, in his report for 1879, says:

"I have experienced great difficulty (with the distress and suffering) applications for relief being constantly made to me by the starving bands of Indians."

Again the commissioner says:

"A Stoney Indian and his family had been without food for many days."

Superintendent Walsh, in his report for 1880, says:

"Hunger and suffering prevailed. In some places persons became so reduced as to be unable to help themselves. The want of food followed by disease caused an epidemic, which marked its results by the many graves now to be seen in Wood Mountain."

Was there ever such a picture as this painted by the most skilful artist? Was there ever such an indictment preferred against any Government? Was there ever such an indictment preferred against this incompetent Government as that framed in this report of one of their own agents in the North-West? Nothing but the weakness, the incompetency of this Administration would have permitted this condition of affairs to have existed one hour after it was made known to the Government, but, with a full knowledge of all these facts, with a full knowledge on their own part, on the part of the Superintendent-General and of Commissioner Dewdney, not the first step was taken to rectify the wrong done to the Indians. The breach of faith, the violated promises, the broken pledges, the fraud and misconduct of the officials, the robbing and cheating all around, the negligence and incompetency of this Administration, are all marked by the graves of the Indians on the side of Wood Mountain. Still the Government never moved, never stirred, never investigated. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the North-West Territories never moved, never stirred, never investigated. No, he luxuriated in his comfortable quarters in Regina, and the Indians whom we are bound to protect might starve to death and freeze to death as far as he was concerned. Let me establish this statement by a mass of testimony that cannot be successfully assailed. The *Moose Jaw News*, a paper by no means unfavorable to the Administration, on the 14th March, 1884, writing of the condition of the Indians in that neighborhood, speaks as follows:—

"In this connection the case of several Indian families in this vicinity may be cited. A friend driving by one, a few days ago, was given to understand that death had been in their midst. On entering the tepee a pitiable sight was discovered. Starvation was visible in their countenances, and a glance sufficed to show the cause of the warrior's death. One can hardly imagine how they had lived at all. The canvass of the tent was old and torn. Not a vestige of anything edible was to be seen, but a few rabbit-skins lying around showed what had composed their last meal. Everything in the way of blankets was under or over the dead braves. Around a cheerless fire were huddled an Indian and three or four squaws. They stated that they had been without food for two days, and appearances would go to prove the truth of their assertion. Can we in this enlightened age, allow scenes like this to take place in our midst without uttering an indignant protest to the proper authorities? Would these Indians have left their reserves, and run the risk of starvation, if they were sure of being supplied with the necessities of life there?"

The same paper, on the 13th June, 1884, discussing the injury inflicted by the Government upon chief Pi-a-pot, says:

"But even this will be utterly insufficient to wipe out the past. Its record will remain a foul blot in our history. The sufferings of the Indians in the Assiniboia reserves during the past winter are a burning shame to us, a lasting reproach to our Government. What would be thought of us in England, or in any other Christian country, were it clearly understood that for weeks large bands of Indians, the wards of the nation, poor, wretched creatures, whose primitive sources of supply

had been cut off by our invasion, and whom we were bound by solemn treaty, as well as by every consideration of justice and humanity, to feed and care for, were dying by scores, partly from semi-starvation and partly from disease resulting from the bad quality of the food supplied by the agents! It is no excuse to say that the facts were not known. Why were they not known? Were there not high officials whose first duty it was to know the facts? If it should prove that the want of knowledge, or to the fearful ravages of scurvy, were due in any degree to a petty economy which dispensed with the services of a competent medical inspector in order to save his fees, this would be an aggravation of the guilt of those responsible for it.

"We write thus strongly because we feel strongly on this subject. It is a subject on which every Canadian and every settler in the North-West in particular, is in duty bound to feel strongly. As we have before pointed out, the gravest issues, involving not only the paramount claims of humanity and right, but also the security of life and property, are wrapped up in the maintenance of friendly relations and good faith with the aborigines.

"We do not remember to have met with a settler from the neighborhood in which those events occurred, who has not sympathized with Pi-a-pot and admitted that, however wrong-headed and cantankerous the chief may have shown himself on other occasions, he is, in this instance, the injured party. We have returned to the matter because it is of the first importance that the record of last winter's treatment of the Indians should be thoroughly examined, and such measures taken as will render the recurrence of such scenes impossible."

Commissioner Irvine in his report of 1882, says:

"For a considerable time they made no demand for aid from the Government, but as the cold weather came on being very poorly clad and insufficiently supplied with food, they experienced much hardship from exposure and starvation."

Mr. Jackson, in his speech to which I have already referred, said:

"Now, I charge that at Indian Head, in the winter of 1883, several of the Indians died of starvation. When I stated that fact, I knew it to be a fact. The Lieutenant-Governor in his reply to me, brings a lot of documents, and the report of Dr. Edwards says that five men starved to death. Mr. Dewdney said there was so much provisions at Indian Head. I know they were there; but his flat had gone forth not to feed them so much, that Pi-a-pot was a bad piece of muslin, and that they must cut down the rations. And now, instead of five dying, it is a matter of my own knowledge, a matter I can prove on oath, that instead of five dying there, 10 per cent. of all the Indians on the Indian Head reserve died through starvation in six months (that is 20 per cent. per annum). He became very anxious about the File Hill Indians. What has he done with them because of their turbulency, because they showed a disposition, perhaps, to rise up and join the Indians of the north in fighting? He has reduced them at the present time to that state that in the case of one Indian (I am prepared to prove this and to give the name of the man too), within two months seven of his children died because they had not the necessaries of life. I tell you what I know to be a fact. The Indians on the File Hills reserve believe that if one of their number falls sick there is no use in trying to make him get well, they have not sufficient nourishing food and they must let him die."

This policy of starvation was adopted by the Agent General of Indian Affairs six years ago. It is a cruel and atrocious policy, it is a policy that ought not to prevail in any civilised country. Six years ago the Agent General of Indian Affairs openly and deliberately adopted this policy in the following language:—

"I must say, however, that it was a dangerous thing to commence the system of feeding the Indians. So long as they know they can rely, or believe they can rely, on any source whatever for their food they make no effort to support themselves. We have to guard against that, and the only way to guard against it is by being rigid, even stingy in the distribution of food, and require absolute proof of starvation before distributing it."

Sir, this policy was adopted six years ago, and it has been persisted in ever since. During the last four or five years this policy has proved to be a failure, but its failure taught the Government no lesson. The experience of the past, the reports of their own agents in the North-West Territories, taught hon. gentlemen opposite no lesson; the reports of the best of their officials transmitted to this Administration fell upon deaf ears. They neither opened their eyes nor unsealed their ears. They slumbered on from year to year, and even the unmistakable signs of the coming storm in the North-West Territory did not arouse hon. gentlemen opposite to a sense of the danger in which the country was placed. Last Session the Agent General of Indian Affairs used the following language:—

"When Louis Riel was sent for last summer he was sent for by these poor people suffering from hunger; because, while we went to a large expenditure in keeping them, we did not give them such a quantity of food as would make them hang around the different stations and become habitual beggars. We kept them on short rations, on short allowances, and we tried to force them—I am speaking now of the Indians—and we have forced them upon their reserves."

Sir, let me give you another piece of testimony upon this subject. Mr. Jackson says this:

"The Indians on the File Hill reserve believe that if one of their number fall sick there is no use in trying to make him get well, they have not sufficient nourishing food and they must let him die. The man I speak of came down to the fort the other day absolutely in rags, with his two squaws, and said to a man in Fort Qu'Appelle (I do not mention his name now, but at the proper time, if necessary, I can produce this man):—'What can I do for anything to eat? We are dying of starvation.' He was told:—'You had better go to Regina, and the Lieutenant-Governor may be able to do something for you.' ('Oh, oh.') The old squaw had an old piece of tea-chest wrapping, which you could throw hailstones through, to serve as a blanket. These are the wards of the Government! The man was so thinly clad that he was frozen below his knees, and yet he was going to Regina to try and move the heart of that man whose heart is stone—to move the heart of that man to give something to keep life in him. ('Shame.') Is such the proper conduct of the man who has charge of the wards of the Government? Why, he deserves to be hooted and hissed and driven out of the country. (Loud cheers.)"

One of the agents, Mr. Herchmer, writing upon this subject, says in his report for last year:

"During the winter I visited the Pas reserves a number of times and witnessed the actual condition of the Indians. For three months—January to March—many of those in the Pas Birch River and Pas Mountains suffered keenly. It was impossible to supply food as it was actually needed, for there was not sufficient in the district. Undoubtedly the amount of relief given last winter, though unprecedentedly large, has been the means of preserving numbers of these Indians alive."

They were suffering keenly, he says; there was no food in the district, simply because the policy of this Administration was a policy of reducing the Indians to submission by a policy of starvation. In the same report Mr. Herchmer says:

"About the same time an Indian came from the Pas Mountain, telling me of the privation from which the band were suffering and asking for relief, and further, that the Mountain Indians were suffering from want."

Mr. Pocklington, in his report, says:

"In January, while visiting the Piegan Reserve, I received a letter from Lieut.-Col. McLeod that 75 Stonies were in Pincher Creek in a starving condition. I started for their camp at once, and found them in reality starving, except for assistance given them by Col. McLeod and other residents."

Now, Sir, I submit that I have established beyond all controversy the charge I have made against this Government, that the Indians of the North-West Territories have been subjected to the greatest possible suffering, that the Government have permitted them to freeze to death and starve to death, and that in the midst of plenty, and with the bountiful donations of this Parliament for feeding and clothing the Indians. I go further than that, Mr. Speaker, I charge that last winter many of the Indians on the reserve at Indian Head were starved to death. I charge that Dr. Edwards, an employee of this Government, so reported to Commissioner Dewdney, and so scandalous and outrageous was the nature of that report, that Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney suppressed the original report, and it has not seen the light of day to this hour. I charge that this scandalous state of affairs was well known to this Administration, and that this is true is beyond peradventure, because I hold in my hands part of a speech made by Lieutenant Governor Dewdney to the North-West Council during its last Session, as reported in the Regina Leader of the 10th December, 1884, in which he says:

"Shortly after they had taken up their residence on the reserve, hearing that there was a great deal of sickness in their band, we instructed Doctor Edwards, who was then in our employ, to make an inspection of Pi-a-Pot's people. In his report which I now have before me he states in these words, 'some of these Indians have died of starvation this winter. They were ill and could not eat the bacon and flour.'"

I ask you, Mr. Speaker, I ask this House of Commons, I ask the people of this country, if it is not a scandalous outrage that, right under the shadow of the vice-regal establishment at Regina, at Indian Head, on the borders of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Indians should have been allowed to starve to death during last winter, and that in the midst of plenty, with the enormous sums voted by this Parliament for the purpose of feeding and clothing the Indians. And yet we have it out of the mouth of Governor Dewdney, and from the report of Dr. Edwards, employed by him to examine into the condition of the Indians, that many of the Indians on that reservation died of starvation last winter. I charge still further: That many of the Indians on the Pine Hills died of starvation last winter; that seven children of these Indians died of starvation within two months last winter; that those facts were made known to Commissioner Dewdney, and that he instructed the agent to go to the reserve and warn the Indians that if they disclosed to the public their misery, hunger and starvation their rations would be stopped. I challenge this Administration now to issue a commission to investigate the matter, to appoint a commission of sensible and honest men to investigate this whole question, and I believe that every statement I have made upon this subject is capable of the clearest possible proof. I say a Government which has so neglected the first duties of a Government towards its wards deserves condemnation, deserves the severest condemnation at the hands of the people of this country. That is not all. I say further, that the Indians, as I have shown, have been robbed, defrauded and swindled, frozen to death and starved to death, and yet we expect them to be peaceful, submissive, faithful and loyal subjects of the Queen. And that in the face of the statement of the Agent General for Indian Affairs made in 1880 and re-affirmed in 1885 that the policy of this Administration was a policy of submission by a policy of starvation; and that in the face of the report of Agent Herchmer sent to the Department that a little starvation would do the Indians good; and that in the face of the declaration of Governor Dewdney that if they did not eat salt pork they might die and be damned to them. With this cruel and brutal treatment of the Indians, with this cruel and brutal report of agent Herchmer, and with the admission of Lieut. Governor Dewdney, need anyone wonder that the Indians are dissatisfied and discontented. I should like to see the experiment tried on the officials of the Government; from the commissioner down to agent Herchmer, and from agent Herchmer down to the lower officials, and a little starvation might teach them common sense. A policy of fraud; a policy of violated treaties and broken promises has been tried in the neighboring republic for 100 years, and without success. It has been tried in this country for a number of years also without success, and it will be tried without success to the end of the chapter. The authoress of "One hundred years of dishonor," speaking of the practical results of this policy in the United States, says:

"The history of the Government's connections with the Indians is a shameful record of broken treaties and unfulfilled promises."

And then the authoress points out the result:

"Under all these conditions it is not a matter of wonder that the frontier was a scene of perpetual devastation and bloodshed; and that year by year there grew stronger in the minds of the whites a terror and hatred of Indians, and in the minds of the Indians a stronger and stronger distrust and hatred of the whites."

Then the authoress points out the true policy that ought to be pursued by a Christian Government:

"The reports are filled with eloquent statements of wrongs done to the Indians, of perfidies on the part of the Government; they counsel, as earnestly as words can, a trial of the simple and unperplexing expedients of telling the truth, keeping promises, making fair bargains, dealing justly in all ways and in all things."

Such have been the results of the policy pursued by the Administration. Hon. gentlemen have sown the wind and they must expect to reap the whirlwind. Nothing but discontent and dissatisfaction and rebellion could be expected from the course pursued by hon. gentlemen opposite. This statement I propose still further to confirm by the evidence of Mr. McDougall, from whose statement I have already largely quoted. He says:

"I have thrown down the gauntlet," he replied. "If my letter is challenged I am prepared to substantiate every word of it, but not before it is contradicted. We have reached a certain crisis in the Indian question. There have been in the past grave irregularities in the Department, for exposing which I was denounced as a traitor and a liar, and brought twice before the conference of my church, but the verdict of the investigating committee always supported me. The Indians have been defrauded by the contracts not being carried out as specified in the treaty; and the Indian is being defrauded, and so is the Government, which is made to believe that the Indians receive a certain amount when they don't. But of course the Indian is the greatest loser."

Mr. Grier from whom I have already quoted says:

"That corruption exists is commonly reported and commonly believed. The fraud comes in by arrangement between the contractors and officials on different reserves. I can't give particulars. I know it exists. The money thus lost if expended on educating the young Indians would do a great deal of good. There is no use trying to teach the old, they won't learn."

This being the condition of affairs, one would naturally like to enquire into the expenditure of the enormous sums voted by Parliament to feed and clothe the Indians. It can be accounted for; a large portion of it can easily be accounted for. The Indian is charged with what he never gets; he is charged two prices for the articles he gets. He is charged with articles that ought not to be charged to him at all; he is robbed right and left by the officials and by the middle men, and that I propose to prove beyond possibility of dispute. The Indians, under Treaty No. 1, in 1883, 1884, 1885, according to the Sessional Papers, are charged with agricultural implements and tools, to the amount of \$863.50; Indians under Treaty No. 2, \$504.23; Indians under Treaty No. 3, \$1,178.71; Indians under Treaty No. 4, \$27,441; Indians under Treaty No. 5, \$2,346; Indians under Treaty No. 6, \$37,420.13; Indians under Treaty No. 7, \$22,581.95. The Indians under those seven treaties are charged in those accounts, in three years, with agricultural implements and tools to the amount of \$92,337.13. Now, Sir, according to the reports for 1886, the Indian population, resident on the reserves under Treaties Nos. 4, 6 and 7 was 12,102, and they had under cultivation 4,614 acres. It does appear to me extraordinary that an Indian population of 12,102 souls with 4,614 acres under cultivation would require agricultural implements and tools in three years amounting to the sum of \$87,444. And you must recollect, Mr. Speaker, that this was not all, because they are charged with large sums in the year 1882. I say there is something rotten here. It is simply incredible, it is simply impossible, that these Indians ever required or utilised implements costing so much in so short a period of time. Now, let us take Treaty No. 4. According to the Sessional Papers for 1884, the Indians under that treaty numbered, in 1883, 6,886, little and big, old and young, men and women, and yet in three years they are charged with agricultural implements and tools amounting to \$27,441. Did the Indians ever get those implements? I say they did not, or that if they did get them this expenditure was nothing more nor less than a scandalous and wilful waste of public money, voted by this Parliament to clothe and feed the Indian and keep him from starving or freezing to death. According to the reports, so far as I can discover, they had under cultivation, in 1883, 554 acres; in 1884, about 1,000 acres; in 1885, 1,590 acres, or an average of 1,000 acres in the three years; and yet, in these three years, for half cultivating 1,000 acres, they are charged with the sum of \$27,441 worth of implements and tools. Take Treaty No. 6. It appears from the Sessional Papers of 1885 that the Indians under this

treaty in 1884 numbered 6,673. Under this treaty the Government paid for implements and tools in three years for these Indians \$37,420. There are not more than 500 able-bodied agriculturists in this band, and yet they are charged with this enormous sum. I say that 500 of the best farmers of Ontario who farm from 100 to 150 acres each, do not spend as much money in three years on farming implements and tools as we spent on this band of Indians. Now, according to the Indian report for 1886, the Indian population of the North-West Territories resident on the reserves, numbered 12,102, and they had under cultivation 4,614 acres, and to half cultivate this land the Government charge the Indian account in three years with \$87,444 worth of agricultural implements and tools. All I can say, all that any man can say, on a subject of the kind, is that these charges on the face of them bear the clearest possible evidence of fraud on the part of somebody. The Indians are charged with this sum; it is paid out of Indian moneys voted by Parliament, but I challenge hon. gentlemen opposite to show that half these articles ever reached the Indians. Is it not the fact—I charge that it is the fact, and I challenge them to a scrutiny; I challenge them to appoint a commission or a committee of this House to enquire into the matter—is it not a fact that in one of the bands numbering 1,150 families they are charged in one year with 1,160 hoes, and the very next year this same band is charged with 1,014 additional hoes? Is it not the fact—I charge that it is the fact—that one band received in one year 50 ploughs, 320 scythes, 320 hay forks, and the very next year this same band are charged with 63 ploughs, 63 harrows, 140 scythes and 140 hay forks; and the following year this same band are charged with \$2,209 worth of ploughs, besides more scythes and hay forks, and \$5,490 of implements under contract? Will any man tell me that these articles ever reached the Indians? I say it is an outrage on common sense and decency; I say it is quite impossible that they ever reached the Indians, and I say further that if they did receive them, it was a wilful misapplication of the money voted by Parliament for the purpose of supplying the Indians with the absolute necessities for the cultivation of the soil. The Indian was robbed and the country was robbed, and the only men who profited by it were the agents and the middlemen. I say still further: In the Sessional Papers for 1884, No. 4, as showing the extraordinary kind of items that this Government charge to the Indian account, I find that K. D. Graham is paid the sum of \$1,984 for medicines supplied to the Indians. That is not all, for there are several other men whose accounts are charged to the Indians for supplying medicine. I say that is enough to physic every Indian in the North-West twice over, and keep them physicked nearly all the year round. That is not all. In 1883 the Indian account is charged with \$3,630 for commission paid to those pets of the Government, I. G. Baker and others, as commission for advances made to the Indians. I ask you, Sir, and I ask this House, when the Parliament of this country liberally donated \$1,109,000 to feed, clothe and support the Indians, why we should pay the sum of \$3,630 as commission to I. G. Baker and others for advances made by them? The Government had the money, Parliament voted the money, it was in their hands, and it was their business to supply the necessary funds to purchase supplies; it was their business to have bought the articles for cash, and to have paid for them instead of having the Indian account charged with this sum in one year as commission for advances. This is not all. In the account for 1883, the enormous sum of \$26,312 is charged to the Indian account for the travelling expenses of the agents appointed by this Government over the Indians in the North-West Territories. And recollect, we supply these men with horses, buckboards, sleighs, and camping outfits and everything required for

travelling; and yet there is this enormous sum of \$26,312 charged in one year for travelling expenses. I tell you, Sir, and I say it without fear of successful contradiction, that every agent in the service, from the Lieutenant-Governor down to the humblest farm instructor, can travel in the North-West Territories from the 1st January to the 31st December, all the year round, and not spend \$26,000. It is the cheapest country in the world to travel in. All you require is a few Indian ponies and a buckboard, and in the case of these agents these things are supplied. Out of this sum the Commissioner of Indian Affairs got nearly \$2,000. In addition to that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs gets his camp outfit, his tent, his horses and harness, and everything that human skill and human ingenuity can devise as necessary for travelling on the prairie; and yet he draws nearly \$2,000 for travelling expenses in one year. I say again, it is a gross injustice to the Indians that these sums, voted by Parliament to clothe and feed the Indians, should be wasted and frittered away. It is a still greater injustice that the men placed over the Indians should supplement their handsome salaries by all these casual advantages stolen out of the funds voted by Parliament to maintain and support the Indians. Let us see how much further this system is acted on to the injury of the Indian. The same scandalous expenditure is not for one year only; it continues from year to year. In the Sessional Papers of 1884, I find that the Indian account is charged with \$22,836 for travelling expenses. By the same Sessional Papers, I find that I. G. Baker and others obtained \$1,417 for commission on advances, which is charged to the Indian account. I find further, by the Sessional Papers of 1884, that the number of Indians in Treaty No. 6, in the year 1883, amounted to 6,639, and the Indian account is charged with having paid that number of Indians. I find by the Sessional Papers of the following year that the Indians in Treaty No. 6 were then said to number 8,157. In 1883 the Indian account is charged with a payment to 6,639 Indians, including chiefs and headmen. In the following year the Indian account is charged with a payment to 8,157 Indians, or an increase of 1,518 Indians, although it is clear that instead of there being an increase in that band, there was a decrease, and the concurrent testimony of all who know anything about it is that there was a decrease. There is evidently something wrong here which requires investigation, but which never was investigated. I find in the Sessional Papers of 1885 that all the items making up the sum of \$17,670 are entered twice, I do not know whether they have been paid twice; all I know is that they are entered twice in the blue-books submitted to Parliament. Some of the items are worthy of the consideration of Parliament and the people of this country. I find that the Indian account of last year is charged with \$10 paid to the South-West Stock Association as Mr. McHugh's membership fee. Will anyone tell me why the Indian account should be charged with the cost of making Mr. McHugh a member of the South-West Stock Association? I find that Mr. P. G. Hallam was paid \$5 for taking an affidavit. The fee in the Province of Ontario is only 25 cents. I find that \$85 is charged for taking a threshing machine to Poundmaker's reserve, which is about half the value of the machine. It should not have cost more than \$12 or \$15. I find that P. J. Paterson is paid \$5 for 50 pounds of flour. Everybody knows that in the markets of the North-West flour can be got for \$5 a barrel. I find that the Indians are charged with \$5,676 as one-third of the cost of the mail service. I ask why the Indian account should be charged with that? The mail service is necessary for the convenience of the white settlers, and ought to be charged to the ordinary fund, and not to the Indian account. It looks to me, on examining this account, as if the object of the Government was simply to spend the Indian funds in the interests of their friends. Last year the

expenditure on Indian account was \$1,109,604. Mr. Dewdney, in his report, says it cost \$454,000 to feed and clothe the Indians. Will the hon. Minister explain to the House and the country what became of the other \$645,000? If not, I will give some explanation. We paid Commissioner Dewdney a salary of \$3,200, and if he were a good man, I would not object to that charge. We paid an army of officials of all kinds over \$90,000. We paid the Tory press from the *Ottawa Citizen* down to the *Montreal Gazette*, \$8,028, which is charged to the Indian account. — paid for agricultural implements and tools in three years, half of which the Indians never received, \$92,337. The Indian account is charged with sums paid to Indians who were not in the band; it is charged with sums paid to Indians who never were in the band; it is charged with sums paid to Indians after they were dead and before they were born, as the following statement made by Mr. McColl in his report shows:

"One of the councillors having two wives is represented on the May sheet as receiving annuity in 1881, for a family of 11 including 2 infant children, whereas at the date of payment, only one of these children was born."

We pay for travelling expenses of the employees of the Government in the North-West in many cases more than their salaries amount to, and that in a country where all a man requires for travelling is an Indian pony and a buckboard. Some of the items that make up the accounts are curious, and deserve the consideration of Parliament. In one of the accounts I find that we paid J. Creighton for a silk handkerchief, 90 cents. Why should the Indian account be charged with the price of a silk handkerchief? If the Indians are starving to death, they do not require silk handkerchiefs. We paid Wm. Williams for repairing boots, \$7.76. We paid Mr. Laurie for football, \$5. If they want to play football, let them buy their own football, and not charge the Indian account with it. We paid for a magic lantern, \$84.15. We paid Louisier & Morin, for superintending Indians' fishing, \$135.76. Will any man tell me why we should pay this sum for this service? I think the Indians know more about fishing than the Government or their officials do. The account was also charged last year with a payment of \$453 for venetian blinds for the Regina Office. A more scandalous charge was never made than that. \$453 for venetian blinds for a little office in Regina! I venture to say that there is not a gentleman's house in Ottawa where the venetian blinds cost \$453. Let me refer to some other items that bear on their face indications of fraud on the Indian. Take the Indians under Treaty No. 4. They are charged with seventy-one yoke of oxen in three years. The Indians under Treaty No. 6 are charged, in 1883, with forty-five yoke of oxen; in 1884, forty-two; and in 1885, forty-two, or 130 yoke of oxen in three years. Now, Mr. Speaker, I ask you to tell me why the Indian account should be charged in three years with 130 yoke of oxen under this treaty, although this band of Indians had not, so far I am able to judge, a thousand acres under cultivation? It is nothing less than a wilful waste of money. These 130 yoke of oxen cost the people of Canada \$26,470; and many of the oxen were aged, crippled and unfit for work of any kind when delivered, so that in a year or so many of them died from old age, and such of them as did not die had to be sold or killed, as they were unfit for work. Francis Ogiltree, Indian agent, writing of the oxen supplied the Swan Lake band, says:

"The two oxen owned by this band are of very little use, as one of them is blind and the other one is very old."

A. Mackay, Indian Agent, speaking of the Berens River Band says:

"There are only one ox and one cow alive out of the seven supplied by the Department."

E. McColl, Inspector of Agencies, speaking of the Long Plain band, says:

"As the oxen are useless, one blind and one very old, they want the agent to be allowed to exchange them for others."

Thus two agents report the same thing. The truth of the matter is that the oxen, for which we paid this enormous sum, were so useless that they had to be disposed of within the year. The whole thing is an outrage Parliament should not tolerate. The Government should be held to a strict account, and I propose to hold them to a strict account, for this wasteful expenditure of public money. I find further that the Indian account is charged with payments to Mr. Baker of \$95 each for three waggons, although I find that the Government could and did buy from other contractors better waggons at \$57.50 each. In other words, the people had to pay, \$37.50 more for each waggon than they were worth. There are still some items to which I would draw, Mr. Speaker, your particular attention. The Indian account was charged a year or two ago with still more curious items. Among them are a table cloth and a napkin for His Grace the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the North-West, \$6.70; for washing his blankets, \$6.50; 150 yards of cotton, \$21.20; 109 yards of cotton, \$13.62; painting, varnishing and cleaning Government house carriage, \$10; kitchen utensils, \$37. Now, we pay Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney, as Lieutenant-Governor, \$4,000 a year; we pay him further, as commissioner, \$3,200 a year; and we pay him yearly for travelling expenses nearly \$2,000; we supply him with other contingencies required for travelling, such as horses, sleighs, buckboards, &c., and surely he ought to wash his own blankets and varnish his own carriage, instead of charging these things to the Indian account. In 1882 the Indian account is charged for a horse for the commissioner, \$160; repairs to harness, \$18.25; sundry articles, of which the items are not given, \$146.45; sundries again, \$57.50; two other horses, \$275; two other horses for the commissioner's interpreter, \$165; two horses again for commissioner, \$340; two horses for Mr. Wadsworth, \$110. So that Mr. Dewdney, in that year, got from the Indian Department five horses for his own use that cost \$775, every one of which was charged to the Indian account. Why, in the name of common sense, should Commissioner Dewdney get out of the Indian fund five horses in one year, costing the people no less a sum than \$775. Mr. Wadsworth, who does a great deal more travelling and ten times the work that Mr. Dewdney does, got a span of horses for \$110 or \$55 each, while Mr. Dewdney's cost as high in one case as \$170 each. In 1883, the Indian account is charged with another horse for Mr. Dewdney at \$100, and again in the same year with a buckboard at \$150. Now, I state here that there is not a gentleman in this House, who knows anything about the North-West Territories, but who will declare that a buckboard, fit for any gentleman to travel in, can be obtained there at from \$40 to \$60; yet the country is charged \$150 for this one. Mr. Dewdney also got another buckboard, in that year, at \$80, making two buckboards costing \$230, which were paid for out of the Indian fund, and which were charged to the Indian account. In the following year, I find charged to that account, one set of harness for the commissioner, \$35; another horse for the commissioner, \$150; washing the towels of the commissioner, \$6; 2 waggons and harness for the two inspectors, \$528. I would like to know what kind of waggons were those two that cost \$528? In that year again, there is charged to Indian account, one buckboard, \$117; one waggon and harness, \$100; and another buckboard, \$115. In 1885, another buckboard is charged to Indian account at \$125. In the report for 1886, the same account is charged with one mare for commissioner, \$125; one pair of horses for Mr. McRae, \$365; one buckboard for Mr. McRae, \$90; one horse for Mr. McRae, \$166; one sleigh for commissioner, \$40. Why, every single thing is charged to the Indian account; yet Mr. Dewdney draws nearly \$2,000 a year for travelling expenses. In the same year, we paid \$1,492 to Baker & Co.,

and others, for advances made, and this same year \$20,150 was charged to Indian account for travelling expenses. Among some of the items not open to discussion are the following: P. G. Williams, paid for travelling expenses from Piegan Reserve to Crooked Lake, \$183; J. A. Hargrave, \$125 for one desk for Winnipeg office. Can you imagine, Sir, the kind of desk that would cost \$125 for an Indian office? My knowledge is too limited to enable me to grasp that great subject. Mr. Wadsworth was allowed \$100 for a buckboard—\$40 is the average price. I now come to a couple of other items, which will be found interesting. Three thousand nine hundred and forty-eight dollars is charged as spent on potatoes for one band of Indians, the Indians under Treaty No. 4. The Indians under Treaty No. 6, are charged with \$473.87 for garden seeds in 1883; in 1884 the same Indians are charged with \$742.89 for garden seeds; and in 1885, the same Indians are charged again with \$810.78 for garden seeds, so that, in the three years I have given, these Indians were charged with \$2,027 worth of garden seeds. I mean to say that the Indians never got these seeds to this extent, or if they did it was a scandalous waste of the public, or rather Indian, money. I mean to say, Sir, that \$2,000 worth of garden seeds would seed every garden in the whole North-West, from the western boundary of Manitoba to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, and then leave enough to seed part of the Province of Ontario. And yet these Indians were charged with \$2,027 for garden seeds during the past three years. This item alone exhibits an extravagance, recklessness and waste on the part of the Administration, which is simply incredible. It is simply disgraceful that any Government should tolerate this condition of affairs for a single year, and the fact that this Government has tolerated it reflects no credit upon them. I have thus shown by evidence which cannot be contradicted that the Indian service in the North-West is filled with carpet-baggers and camp-followers, with men incompetent to fulfil the duties they are called upon to discharge, with men of bad habits and worse morals, with men who minimise the truth, with men who yet have not been able to distinguish between *meum* and *tuum*. I have shown you that we have dealt harshly and cruelly with the Indians, that we have broken our solemn promises, that we have violated every line of every treaty that we made with the Indians, that we have permitted our agents and middlemen to rob and steal from the Indians, that our agents have allowed those Indians to be frozen to death and starved to death, and that in the midst of plenty. Sensible men, reasonable men foresaw long ago what would be the inevitable result of the foolish and mad policy pursued by this Administration towards the Indians, the policy of submission by a policy of starvation. Sensible men could see that the only ending would be that which was shown in the terrible outbreak of last year. Sensible men can see now that the condition of the Indians there requires the earnest attention of this Parliament. Is it possible to open the eyes of hon. gentlemen opposite? I have almost despaired of it. The Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, in his report for 1886, says:

"The Indians who rebelled do not plead grievances in extenuation of their having done so."

I know that the supporters of the Government, in Parliament and out of Parliament, and the press supporting hon. gentlemen opposite, and all those who clamored for the blood of Louis Riel, in order if possible to increase his criminality, have declared that, had it not been for him, the Indians of the North-West would not have taken up arms. That is true in a sense and it is not true. It is true that the action of Louis Riel was the spark which fired the train, but I say the combustible material was there all the same. It slumbered for seven years, but it only slumbered. It is not true that the action of Louis Riel was the only or the

main cause of the Indians joining their kindred, the half-breeds, in the recent insurrection in the North-West Territory. The Indian on the whole is a quiet, peaceable, law-abiding, loyal subject of Her Majesty the Queen, and it required a good deal more than the mad freaks of a lunatic to induce the Indians to take up arms against the sovereign power of this Dominion. I say that every man not blinded by party prejudice, every man whose eyes are open, or who is willing to have his eyes opened and his ears unstopped, must see that the policy, the avowed policy of the Administration and of their officials in the North-West had a great deal to do, had everything to do, with the outbreak of the Indians, and that that policy would sooner or later eventuate in an armed insurrection. The way to maintain the loyalty of the Indian is not by violating solemn engagements, not by breaking every treaty entered into with the Indian, not by unfulfilled promises made by the Government, not by cheating, robbing and swindling the Indians, not by cruel and harsh treatment, not by death from cold and starvation; and of all these things I charge that this Government through their agents have been guilty. I propose to read one or two other extracts to establish the proposition I have laid down. The Rev. John McLean, Methodist missionary to the Blood Indians near Fort Macleod, discussed the half-breed and Indian question in the August number of *The Canadian Methodist Magazine*. He says:

"The causes of the present discontent among the Indians are legion. Some of the men employed by the Department on the reservations have been granted their positions through political influence, even though they have been utterly incompetent for the respective duties of their office. They receive good salaries, and yet the Indians derive very little benefit from their services. Promises have been made to the Indians by Government officials that have never been kept. The Department has professed to give these people food enough to sustain them, yet at different times their rations have been cut down. They have been told that they were to remain on their reservations, but it was impossible for them to do so on their daily allowance. About a million dollars a year is now granted by the Dominion Parliament for the Indian service, but a high official in the North-West has stated that not one-fourth of this sum, or the equivalent of one-fourth, ever reaches the Indians. The money is filtered through the hands of jobbers, supply men, agents, and other speculators until the Indian's share is reduced to very little, indeed."

Archbishop Taché says:

"The Indians, who should have been cared for and protected by the Government, were 'left a prey to the seductions of men revoltingly immoral, and when this was pointed out the friends of humanity had another regret to register.' He alleges that in other cases 'the Indians were deprived of the pittance assigned to them, or it was given to them as if they were dogs!' They were too often deceived. At the risk of creating great surprise, I affirm that the massacres were not committed without previous provocation. I here invoke the testimony of one of the victims himself. The Rev. Father Fafard said, in conversation with another missionary, who in turn related it to me:—'Such a one (naming an official) acts with shameful brutality towards the Indians. He will be killed some day.' The person alluded to was killed, and two devoted missionaries increased the number of victims they were striving to protect. A gentleman whose veracity I cannot question assured me that some Indians had told him in 1884 that an individual, whom he mentioned, 'treated them like dogs,' and the same individual was killed by the Indians who had lodged the complaint against him."

Rev. Mr. McDougall says:

"We could not find, nor did we try to find, any excuse for the promises made but not fulfilled, for the cut-throat policy often exhibited and sometimes enforced by officials of the Indian Department, for the shameful and immoral lives of many of the employees of the same. Some of these were a disgrace to the lowest barbarism, let alone civilization. Nor how could we, when earnestly trying to teach Indians habits of industry and thrift, be expected to excuse the laziness and incompetency of many sent into the country to teach the wards of the Government those lessons we have been working for them to acquire for so many years. Moreover could we be blamed when we felt strongly that something was wrong in the system which allowed such men in its branch of the service. The inconsistency has oftentimes appeared to us very glaring when we looked at a department claiming to have a certain object in view, set aside by the country at large, whose servant it is, to attain this object, and yet within its own grasp and power doing those things and adopting those methods which are defeating their object. Very little rebellion in these men ten or fifteen years ago, and had the conduct of Government officials of every department sent into this country been such as to command the respect of the natives there would have been no rebellion on the part of the Indians last spring, nor would

the smouldering influences thereof still rankle in the hearts of many. The same system is being continued without change. Not one of the officials complained of has been removed or interfered with. The Government have refused to accept advice from any quarter."

Mr. Jackson, in the speech from which we have already quoted, says:

"I heard some of the men say, who took up arms against the police to protect themselves (it was said before some responsible citizens of Fort Qu'Appelle): 'We had to do it or starve to death, and we preferred to die by the police bullets rather than die by starvation.'"

Instead of dealing fairly and honestly by the Indian, as we ought to have done; instead of maintaining unbroken our treaty obligations with the Indian, we pursued, and we still pursue that mad and reckless and inhuman policy of submission by starvation. The Indian agent, in his report of 1883, speaking of Way-way-se-Cappo's and Gambler's bands, says:

"They have become particularly independent, and have undertaken to compel me to give them what they required. Gambler's band were also very independent, and did not sow much, as I refused to give seed wheat to those who received it last year and kept none for seed; consequently most of the others refused to take seed. However, both these bands can get work if they want it, and a little starvation will do them good."

I say it is worse than folly for the First Minister to say that the Indians who rebelled did not plead grievances in extenuation of their having done so. It is stopping one's ears; it is closing one's eyes; it is being wilfully blind to the evidence that is submitted to Parliament in almost every page of the reports of the Department of Indian Affairs and of the North-West Mounted Police. The hon. gentleman knew, the Administration ought to have known, the terrible experience of the neighboring republic with just such a policy; we ourselves knew from our experience and the reports of our agents in the North-West, what the effect of such a policy would be. But the Government may not be satisfied with the evidence I have given that broken promises, violated treaties, fraud and speculation, starvation bordering on death, drove the Indians into the arms of the rebellious. I shall now submit a piece of evidence, the weight and authority of which even this Government will not question. The First Minister of this Dominion has over and over again declared in Parliament that Governor Dewdney was the best official in the whole North-West to deal with the Indians. I took, and still take, issue with the First Minister on that question. I say he is the most dangerous official that ever this incompetent and reckless Government appointed to fulfil any position of trust in the North-West Territories. But let us see what Governor Dewdney says of the Indians of the plains in connection with the insurrection. In his report for the present year he makes use of the following language:—

"The bands implicated in the rebellion were those of One Arrow, Beady, Okemasia, and part of Petequakeys, in the Carleton district, and the whole of the Indians in the Battleford and Fort Pitt districts,

excepting Moosomin's and part of Thunder Child's, the latter refusing to approach the rebel camps until starvation drove him and his followers to do so."

So, Sir, you have here, out of the mouth of the Lieutenant-Governor himself, the statement that these Indians refused to join the rebel camp until starvation compelled them to do so. You have the statement out of the mouth of the commissioner that starvation compelled the chief of this band, and the whole of his followers, to join the armed insurrection. The Minister of Justice told us not long ago, in his speech in Parliament, that:

"The man who undertakes in the North-West to incite the Indians to rise and commit war and depredations on the settlers, takes his life in his hand, and if he appeals to me for mercy he will get justice."

That sentiment was vociferously cheered by hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. I agree with that sentiment. It commends itself to my judgment; but I tell the Minister of Justice that if he is disposed to mete out merited justice to those who, by their misconduct, by their maladministration, by their incompetency and by their criminal neglect, provoked the Indian uprising, the hon. gentleman will sit alone upon the Treasury benches. There is nothing that hon. gentlemen so much fear as justice, that justice they will receive at the hands of the people of this country, if not at the hands of this Parliament. Sir, believing, as I honestly do, that the administration of Indian Affairs in the North-West Territories has been harsh and cruel; believing, as I honestly do, that many of the officials appointed by this Government to administer Indian affairs are not only unfit for their position, but are men of bad character, and of worse morals; believing, as I honestly do, that the Indians have been robbed for years in the interest of the officials of this Government and the middlemen; believing, as I do, that the Government have, year after year, persistently refrained from investigating the complaints made by the Indians, and submitted to them by their own agents in the North-West Territory, and have kept incompetent and immoral men in the public service for a long series of years; believing that the Indians have been persistently robbed, cheated and swindled, and in many cases frozen and starved to death; believing, as I do, that the recent uprising of the Indians was the direct result of the maladministration and the incompetency of this Administration; that, in fact, the whole policy and the whole conduct of this Government, in the administration of Indian affairs in the North-West Territories, has proved disastrous in the past and is fraught with danger in the future, I beg to move the following amendment:—

That all the words after the word "that" be left out, and the following inserted instead thereof:—"the administration of Indian Affairs in Manitoba and the North-West Territories under the present Government has been characterised by extravagance, mismanagement, incapacity and culpable neglect."